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Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 29 September 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)

- Address by Mr. Guillermo Endara Galimany, President of the Republic of Panama

- General debate [9] (continued)

Statements made by

Mr. Zlenko (Ukraine)
Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain)
Mr. Kim (Democratic People's Republic of Korea)
Mr. Khaliknazarzoda (Tajikistan)
Mr. Luna (Peru)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

ADDRESS BY MR. GUILLERMO ENDARA GALIMANY, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will first hear an address by the President of the Republic of Panama.

Mr. Guillermo Endara Galimany, President of the Republic of Panama, was escorted into the General Assembly Hall.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Panama, His Excellency Mr. Guillermo Endara Galimany, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

President ENDARA GALIMANY (Panama) (interpretation from Spanish): I consider it a great honour to speak before the General Assembly of the United Nations once again. On behalf of the people and the Government of the Republic of Panama, I wish to extend heartfelt congratulations to General Assembly President Stoyan Ganev, whose election has been a tribute to his record and personal merits and a wise choice by the General Assembly.

Before continuing, I should also like to express my country's pleasure at the election of the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and at the splendid work he has done in the few months during which he has been at his sensitive position. We are certain that, under his leadership, the necessary consensus will be achieved to implement concrete actions that will promote political and economic stability, human and social development, and the restoration of belief in the principles that gave rise to this Organization. Today, because of the positive changes that have taken place in the world - changes that have been called the "new order" - those principles are singularly valid. We most definitely support his "Agenda for Peace".

(President Endara Galimany)

Without any doubt, the end of the cold war offers the world new and great opportunities to devote efforts and additional resources to the social and economic activities of our countries rather than to the waging of war. We note with satisfaction the progress made in various parts of the world through joint efforts to promote peace, security, and cooperation.

The experience of the people of the Republic of El Salvador constitutes, for the rest of mankind, an example of how to settle disputes by peaceful means. With the signing of the peace agreements in the nacion, an end was put to 12 long, grim years of struggle, bloodshed, grief, and suffering for thousands of Salvadorian homes. That is why my country, like the rest of the international community, reiterates its commitment to help the Salvadorian people consolidate peace, an indispensable element in the economic, political, and social recovery of that fraternal country.

In the same vein, the recent conclusion of the century-old border conflict between Honduras and El Salvador, after the accepted ruling of the International Court of Justice, puts an end to one stage and begins another marked by understanding and friendship between those two countries. My Government welcomes this renewed willingness to resolve disputes by peaceful means.

In those areas where, sadly, wars are unfolding, action must be taken not only to combat the scourge of war but also to fight its causes. Panama supports the machinery aimed at preventive action by United Nations peace-keeping forces in regions of hostility, in particular the implementation of preventive diplomacy and the peace programme put forward by the Secretary-General.

(President Endara Galimany)

In the area of regional disarmament, Panama, under the Treaty of Tlatelolco and recent proposed amendments to it, and as a signatory to the Ayacucho Declaration, has made a commitment to cooperate in efforts in this direction, as well as in efforts to ban nuclear weapons and eliminate conventional arms in Latin America. Taking into account the concepts of peace and stability, our country has truly and effectively abolished the army and is in the process of introducing constitutional reforms that will make it impossible to re-establish any kind of military organization in Panama. If the Panamanian people supports this plan in the referendum next November, we will be - together with Costa Rica - two American countries whose constitution and laws ban the existence of an army. In this way we will have eliminated the possibility of re-establishing military regimes, of sorry memory, that did such harm throughout the history of Panama.

Both domestically and internationally, we are in favour of diverting resources that have hitherto been assigned to military activities towards efforts to promote the economic and social development of the people and the protection of the environment. If the great and powerful of this world have come to understand the necessity of reducing military spending, then there is even more reason for the smaller countries to understand that our wars must be wars against poverty and illiteracy.

There can be no doubt that the Rio Conference marked the beginning of a new stage in a new form of development for the world and its inhabitants. We must harmonize the economic, social, political, and ecological dimensions. The concepts of sustainable development and integration are key elements in building the future of our world above and beyond the boundaries and individual interests of nations. But, at the same time, the equity that can be produced by development must be an important topic on our agendas.

(President Endara Galimany)

Panama accepts the challenge to shift development patterns and attitudes towards the natural environment. In this regard, we need the determined cooperation of the international community to preserve the biogenetic heritage that has been bequeathed to us. I reiterate that we need to create a special fund to give the developing countries new and additional resources enabling them to implement national strategies of sustainable development. At the same time, it is necessary to make joint efforts to bring together Governments and the private sector with international organizations in an effort to achieve these ends. To that end, we should look to the results of the Rio Conference as a great opportunity to pledge efforts and resources at all levels and to formulate and implement national development strategies based upon Agenda 21.

(President Endara Galimany)

In my first address in this forum, two years ago, I referred specifically to our support for the incorporation of the Republic of Korea into the United Nations, which we saw as consistent with the atmosphere created by the end of the cold war. We are delighted that this decision was made a year ago. Today, in that same spirit, we must give due consideration to the absence of the Republic of China from this Organization, and we must also consider the impact that absence has on the role our Organization plays in achieving global cooperation and coordination. We must acknowledge the impressive economic development of that country and the progress made in the democratization of the Republic of China. These factors could help resolve many of the problems facing this Organization.

For this reason, we invite Member States to initiate serious consideration of this subject in the spirit of peace and cooperation that has predominated recently.

In the area of human rights, we have noted with satisfaction the decision to convene a world summit conference on social development, and preparations for the World Conference on Human Rights. It is important that the United Nations system assume leadership in these areas, facing, as a matter of priority, the social problems that stand in the way of improving living conditions for the most dispossessed in our societies.

As I said a year ago, Panama has set for itself a number of social development programmes over the next five years. I am happy indeed to say today that the United Nations Development Programme has contributed effectively in this national effort to attack the areas of extreme poverty in our country as a matter of priority. Thanks to this cooperation, we have made considerable progress, although I must admit that we still have a long way to go.

(President Endara Galimany)

As part of the Central American isthmus, our country is continuing to make efforts to lay the foundation for commitments that will benefit our six members. To this end, the Central American Presidents, at the twelfth summit Conference in Managua, Nicaragua, last June, developed a working agenda. The purpose of that agenda is to bequeath to future generations of our countries better conditions for improving democratic institutions, promoting integration and fostering economic and social development. We should like to take full advantage of this new era in our region, for we see it as a historic opportunity to strengthen the idea of a united Central America facing the challenges of the twenty-first century.

For these reasons, the Central American Presidents decided to place the emphasis at the thirteenth summit Conference - which we will proudly be holding for the first time in Panama next December - on the agricultural sector, which is the pillar of our economies and the primary source of employment in our region.

Our efforts to participate in the activities of all international organizations - recognizing as we do that dialogue is the best way to promote relations among nations - has led us to take steps to become a permanent member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and has led us to sign the Montreal Protocol on the ozone layer.

I now turn to actions within the European Community to protect the exporting of our product, bananas. As a result of the visits of several Central American Presidents to different European countries, we now view with optimism the decision of some of these countries to oppose the resolution of the Commission of the European Community on the subject. That resolution recommends the imposition of quotas on the importing of bananas into the

(President Endara Galimany)

Community, which would adversely affect thousands of jobs in that sector of our economy.

At this point I should like to stress that the consolidation of democracy and stable social peace must be understood and promoted within a modern approach to economic relations. Imposing measures such as the ones mentioned in respect of bananas is certainly not in keeping with these new realities. At a time when there is an opening of trade in goods, products and services, it is contradictory indeed to see efforts made to restrict our banana market by applying protectionist policies that seem now to be out of date.

Along these same lines, Panama views with optimism the negotiations of the North American Free Trade Association, which concluded last month. These negotiations were the result of the Americas Initiative put forward by the United States of America. That agreement will make possible accession by other countries in the region. Thus a climate of equity has been created in respect of investments, markets and the transfer of technology.

I should like to stress that the free trade agreement could be the mechanism that, over the short term, will make it possible to promote a plan for intra-regional free trade. This would redound to the benefit of our economies and be part of a balanced, competitive plan.

In this forum, I should not fail to touch on our concern over the problem of drug trafficking. Because of our geographical position and our service economy, we have unfortunately attracted much of this unlawful and damaging trade. Consequently, my Government has promoted, and will continue to promote, serious, responsible action to put an end to drug trafficking and the laundering of money relating to these activities. We have signed international agreements and we are negotiating other similar agreements, and

(President Endara Galimany)

we are carrying out successful internal operations relating to supervision and detection in order to help undermine any incentives that might exist for this vile trade in our country.

(President Endara Galimany)

However, whether we are producer countries, countries used for transit or consumer countries, the problem affects us all. That is why it is necessary to reaffirm our determination to fight and curb these activities, for they not only damage the health of our citizens, but also promote violence and terrorism, which also deserve our most vigorous condemnation.

Therefore, I take this opportunity to tell the world that Panamanians - leaders and the people - are determined allies of all those fighting against drug trafficking and the crimes resulting from it, which make it such a reprehensible activity.

In this world forum, I should like to report on actions that Panama is now taking to take over the administration and operation of our inter-oceanic canal, in keeping with the 1977 Treaty. Our country will assume full ownership and autonomous management of the Canal on the last day of this century. In the meantime, some of the improvements made by the United States in the inter-oceanic region have been handed over to the Republic of Panama; other improvements will become Panamanian property when the canal itself is handed over. My Government has carried out many internal consultations on the subject and has drawn up the legal framework for the administration and utilization of these improvements. This is a commitment that Panamanians have unhesitatingly made to the rest of the world.

Moreover, together with our partner in the Canal - the United States - we are members of a number of national and bi-national commissions preparing for the transfer of functions at the appointed hour. Finally, in another commission, made up of Panama, the United States and Japan, alternatives to the Panama Canal are being studied in order to determine the best way to ensure the continued competitiveness of our inter-oceanic route in the next century.

(President Endara Galimany)

The last decade of this century finds Panama building its future with optimism. We are strengthening our democratic system and the institutions that are its foundation. Among other things, we are preparing for an exemplary electoral process in 1994, ensuring in turn renewal of authority in keeping with the popular will, openly expressed. We are taking advantage of a significant recovery of our economy, which will benefit our social development. With a keen sense of responsibility, we are preparing ourselves to administer our Canal, from the last day of this century. We are living in freedom and in peace with our neighbours. Panama today has a future, and it is promising.

These policies and principles guide our domestic actions and constitute the guidelines for our international actions. That is why we support all United Nations actions and initiatives consistent with our principles and interests.

In this world forum, I urge all countries to promote and consolidate peace, to foster their development and growth and to guarantee democracy and justice, for these will help us live together in a better world.

The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Panama for the statement he has just made.

Mr. Guillermo Endara Galimany, President of the Republic of Panama, was escorted from the General Assembly Hall.

AGENDA ITEM 9 (continued)

GENERAL DEBATE

Mr. ZLENKO (Ukraine) (spoke in Ukrainian; English text furnished by the delegation): I should like to extend sincere congratulations to you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

I am especially pleased to see in this high post a representative of Bulgaria, a country that is linked to Ukraine by geographical and ethnic proximity and by centuries-old ties of friendship, cooperation and good-neighbourly relations.

I should also like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Shihabi, who made tireless efforts to strengthen the role of the General Assembly.

We greatly appreciate the contribution that was made to the implementation of radical transformations in the United Nations by Mr. Perez de Cuellar, the former Secretary-General. His successor, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has embarked on the course of deepening the reforms, with the firm intention of enhancing the role and authority of the Organization, in response to the needs of our time. We will support these undertakings in every possible way.

The current session of the General Assembly is being held during a period of profound and truly epoch-making transformations on our planet, which have included in the formation of a new world order the potential of the new States built on the ruins of the last empire in the history of mankind.

The disintegration of the bankrupt totalitarian system, resulting in the largest increase in the membership of the United Nations in recent years, opened the way for the triumph of genuine freedom and democracy in vast areas of Europe and Asia and for the realization of the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and has made it possible to place human rights at the focus of the policies of many newly emerged States.

The people of Ukraine demonstrated through the centuries its firm desire for independence and its aspiration to a national, political and economic

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

renaissance. For hundreds of years Ukrainians' drive for freedom was subdued by giving them miserable pittances or by the use of violence and repression. But today, for the first time, our people have set out on the path leading to the temple of independence, and no one will ever make our people deviate from that historic path.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

In August of this year we solemnly marked the first anniversary of our independence. That pivotal event in the life of our people was celebrated as the triumph of democracy and freedom. And today we are facing a task of great proportions: to build a democratic Ukraine governed by the rule of law, to revive the strength and intellectual potential of our people, to be worthy of the memory of our ancestors who sacrificed their lives in the struggle for independence.

The fresh winds of change make it necessary to take a new look at the Charter of the United Nations, to activate fully its enormous creative potential and to free international relations from the burden of suspicion, hostility and the renewal of violence. The shortest way to that goal is through international relations based on common sense and on respect for freedom of choice, in keeping with the centuries-old principles of international law which are clearly understood, widely recognized and consistently applied.

As early as the seventeenth century the celebrated Spanish theologian and philosopher Francisco Suarez observed that although States are not combined into a single political body, they are obliged to help one another and to maintain and defend law and peace, since that is imperative for the benefit of all mankind. A State that violates the law and disregards international agreements is thereby undermining the foundations of its own future tranquillity.

The same vital philosophical ideas were also expounded by Hryhory Skovoroda, a Ukrainian philosopher, writer and thinker of the eighteenth century who stood for purity in public order and who inspired belief in the inevitable triumph of truth and justice.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

We attach great importance to strengthening the role of the United Nations in settling conflicts and resolving disputes. Although the threat of total military confrontation has receded, the tragic developments on the territory of former Yugoslavia, in Nagorny Karabakh, in Georgia, in the Dniester region and in other areas give us warning that local conflicts are fraught with serious danger.

We believe that joint efforts by the international community can eliminate the deep-rooted causes of these conflicts, which are linked to unresolved national issues, to irresponsible appeals for the review of existing State frontiers, to economic hopelessness, to political egocentrism and to the messianic ambitions of some States seeking to create zones of their own special interests in certain parts of the world. The task of the United Nations is to establish a structure for interaction that would guarantee the security of every Member State.

Our country can contribute to the attainment of that goal. In the year that has passed since the proclamation of our independence, Ukraine has traversed the road from a quasi-State within the former USSR to a universally recognized European State. Having joined the leading international political, humanitarian and monetary-financial institutions, our country has assumed full responsibility for securing its own foreign-policy interests and its external economic interests.

Without claiming any special status in the world, we want to occupy a place in the international community worthy of our people, our history and our potential. We can make and we want to make a constructive contribution to international cooperation.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

Ukraine welcomes the changes in the political and military structure of Europe, where we are seeing the key role in maintaining peace and stability shift from military deterrence to political mechanisms. These changes have ensured the success of the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the possibility of shaping a new security model on the continent based on close interaction between the European States. I would like to emphasize that the orientation towards Europe is one of the main driving forces of our foreign policy; we intend to intensify the dynamics of our relations with European States and with their regional structures.

We intend to pursue a serious, pragmatic and result-oriented policy with respect to the United Nations. That is why the Ukrainian Parliament decided to send a military contingent to take part in the United Nations peace-keeping mission in the territory of former Yugoslavia. Today Ukrainian soldiers are continuing to do their duty with honour and dignity in that suffering land. Their mission has won universal support and recognition.

The transition of the contemporary world to a system of global integration, multipolarity and partnership demands the creation of a new concept of strategic stability based on a substantial and balanced reduction of existing arsenals of weapons to the dimensions of reasonable sufficiency for defence. The results achieved so far in bilateral efforts to limit armaments should be supplemented by new multilateral agreements, whose universality would provide the necessary level of confidence, strengthening trust in their implementation.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

We welcome the completion of the convention on the complete prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. For Ukraine, which does not possess, produce or stockpile chemical weapons in its territory, signing the convention is one of the priorities in the field of disarmament.

The question of eliminating all nuclear weapons is of fundamental significance for us. We are convinced that, with a well-adjusted system of collective security based on the Charter of the United Nations, it will be possible to prevent any aggression or, if necessary, to suppress it through joint efforts.

Ukraine, which suffered the full effects of the Chernobyl disaster, is supporting with even greater determination the international campaign for the complete renunciation of nuclear testing and for the assumption by every nuclear-weapon State of an obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Simultaneously with its proclamation of independence, Ukraine opted to become a State possessing no nuclear weapons. Of course, Ukraine is not the only country in the world which has chosen non-nuclear status. But our uniqueness lies in the fact that we voluntarily took on the burden of eliminating hundreds of strategic and tactical nuclear warheads inherited from the USSR, a choice which has huge financial implications.

Having set out on the path of reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons, we count on strict international guarantees of our national security against the possible threat or use of force by any nuclear State. I should point out that this is by no means a rhetorical question for our newly independent State, and we consider it in our own special context. Naturally, we count on understanding for our position.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

Ukraine intends to accede in the very near future to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; it will place all its nuclear power plants and all fissionable materials under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

We actively support the idea of creating a nuclear-free zone in the Black Sea basin. As is known, in the agreement between Ukraine and the Russian Federation, signed on 3 August of this year at Yalta, the two major Black Sea States officially declared the desirability of pursuing a policy aimed at making the Black Sea a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace and cooperation.

We regard the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe as the most important element of a new security system in Europe. The entry into force of the Treaty will make it possible to accelerate the process of European disarmament, to remove the remaining imbalances in armed forces and to eliminate unpredictability from the military and strategic situation on the Continent.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

The successful conclusion of negotiations on reducing the numbers of military personnel and on implementing the provisions of the Vienna Document on Confidence- and Security-building Measures opens new opportunities for strengthening stability in Europe. Together with other European countries, we welcome the conclusion of the "open skies" agreement as an important step towards mutual trust in military activities.

Against the background of definite changes for the better in the area of arms limitation and disarmament, issues of strengthening international and regional stability take on special importance.

Ukraine greatly appreciates the contribution made by the United Nations to the settlement of conflicts in the "hot spots" of the planet and its endeavours to restore peace to the Balkans and to normalize the situations in Cambodia, Cyprus, Central America and southern Africa.

The experience acquired in this sphere proves that the most efficient actions are preventive actions aimed at lessening tension before it is transformed into open conflict between the opposing parties. The use of the methods of preventive diplomacy must become a priority feature of United Nations activity today. We support the ideas of the Secretary-General in this regard and the pragmatic proposals set forth in his report "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277).

The normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf, with the direct participation of the United Nations, is facilitating the intensification of efforts aimed at settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. Ukraine believes that a constructive dialogue on this problem at the current session of the General Assembly can foster the process of forging specific agreements that started in Madrid.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

Ukraine welcomes efforts aimed at stopping the violence in South Africa, and calls upon the Government and the representatives of all political forces in South Africa to continue resolutely the process of peaceful settlement.

A few words about Ukraine's economic situation. The imperial system completely exhausted Ukraine's economy and unbalanced our economic mechanisms. Ukraine inherited a predominantly obsolete technology, a backward infrastructure, the burden of foreign debt, a lack of skilled managerial staff, low living standards for the population and galloping inflation. However, we are convinced that independence, the development of democracy and juridical institutions and the implementation of far-reaching political and economic reforms will enable us to weather the transition to a market economy without critical social upheavals during the transition period and will create the necessary conditions for the integration of Ukraine into the system of world economic relations.

In carrying out the tasks before us, we must rely primarily on our own strength, on the talent and industriousness of our people. But at the same time, we greatly appreciate outside support for our efforts: foreign investment, and the furnishing of financial and advisory assistance and expertise by the most developed countries of the world and by international organizations.

We call for concerted action to overcome the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster, a tragedy unprecedented in the history of mankind, and for joint efforts by various countries in solving the complex and unparalleled problems it caused. We hope that the present session of the General Assembly will yield solutions appropriate to the scope of that tragedy.

Our economic difficulties, the foreign debt inherited from the former Soviet Union and the Chernobyl factor make it impossible for Ukraine to meet

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

fully its financial obligations to the United Nations. However, I wish to state that this problem is constantly being given attention by the Parliament and Government of Ukraine.

At the same time, Ukraine cannot agree to a merely mechanical approach to the question how the contribution of the former Soviet Union is to be apportioned. We strongly object to the decisions taken at the last session of the Committee on Contributions that, contrary to the existing criteria, recommended increasing Ukraine's contribution for the next year by over 50 per cent. We shall strive for a radical revision of the system used for formulating the scale of assessment, bringing it into conformity with the present-day realities, levels of development and ability to pay of Member States.

The pressure of economic problems is naturally bound to influence the social situation in our country. However, our efforts to promote respect for international standards in the field of human rights and protection of the interests of national minorities were instrumental in avoiding ethnicity-based conflicts in Ukraine. At the same time, we understand the concerns expressed from this rostrum regarding "discriminatory practices", against Ukrainians and all other non-indigenous nationalities, which are growing stronger in some of the new States that have emerged in the territory of the former USSR. We hope that all States in whose territory Ukrainians reside will demonstrate genuine concern and consideration for their cultural, linguistic and religious needs.

That hope was voiced with full force in the statements of the participants in the World Forum of Ukrainians, which recently brought to Kiev thousands of representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, who had been forced to live far from their native land.

(Mr. Zlenko, Ukraine)

At a time when human lives are at stake and people are dying of famine in some parts of the world, the problem of humanitarian aid should play a key role in the activities of the United Nations and of its social and economic organs. Our country, in the light of its own past, is devoting special attention to this question.

Another humanitarian problem requires special attention because unless it is resolved, it will stand in the way of strengthening the principles of civilized relations in international life. I am referring to the question of prisoners of war. While supporting the steps taken by the new leadership of Afghanistan in establishing peace and reconciliation in that country, I should like to appeal to it to do its utmost to ensure an immediate search for and arrange the unconditional return of Ukrainian nationals who are still being kept prisoner or are missing in action. At the same time, we call upon all States in whose territory prisoners of war are being held to make the humane gesture of releasing the victims of military conflicts. This would also contribute to the success of the forthcoming World Conference on Human Rights.

In my statement, I have touched upon some unresolved issues that are preventing us from moving ahead. However, none of these problems, we believe, can impede the renaissance of the United Nations stimulated by the end of the cold war and the resulting favourable changes in the world. I can assure everyone present in this hall that Ukraine is determined to participate in the work of the United Nations which will continue to remain a crucial element of our foreign policy, and we will do everything possible to ensure that the Organization enters the next millennium as an effective instrument in building a better world.

Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Allow me, Mr. President, at the outset, to express to you my sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly and to salute your friendly country, Bulgaria. In wishing you success in conducting the proceedings of this session, it gives me pleasure to assure you of our readiness to cooperate closely with you in furthering the Organization's objectives and upholding its principles at a time of rapid change in the world order marked by an increasingly important role for the United Nations in addressing world problems is gaining new momentum.

I also seize the opportunity to extend our thanks and appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Samir Shihabi, the Permanent Representative of the sisterly Kingdom of Saudi Arabia for the able and judicious manner in which he guided our work as president of the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

It is also my pleasure to voice our appreciation of the efforts of His Excellency Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations during the short period since he took office, both in restructuring the Organization and in strengthening its role in the maintenance of world peace and security.

It is gratifying indeed to witness the emergence, this year, of a large number of independent States and their accession to membership of the United Nations. The emergence of those thirteen States, is telling proof of the strength of their people's nationalist sentiments and aspirations, which have surged with the end of the cold war. My country's delegation has the pleasure to welcome the new Member States. We are convinced that they will contribute constructively to the enhancement of the United Nations role and the furtherance of its goals and objectives.

This session is convened at a time the likes of which the world Organization has rarely witnessed throughout its history. The winds of change have swept away the very foundations of an international system which, for nearly half a century, was based on the foundation of the cold war's precarious balance of power. The ideological barrier between East and West has been brought down and, with it, the strategies of nuclear deterrence upon which the leaders of the bipolar world political order depended throughout the post-Second World War era.

Our world today is in a state of flux. It is emerging from a past that is now collapsing under our eyes and is moving towards a future that has not taken shape yet. Intimations of that future are being broght home to us on the crests of mighty waves and the winds of heavy storms that have brought down the Berlin wall, caused the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

dismantling of the Soviet Union side by side with the many developments and conflicts we now witness on the international arena.

Although the features of the new world order broke forth sharply in waves of violent and profound transformations, the winds of change have not been able to uproot the problems of the cold war. For in the wake of the fall of certain States, there was the eruption of severe national and ethnic disputes on which the lid had been kept by the bipolar balance of power. Scrutiny of the changes witnessed by the world today clearly reveals that the threads of past and present are interwoven even though developments are taking place so fast towards the creation of a delicate and precarious balance between the status quo and change as the new world order unfolds.

The gap between the realities of the present and forecasts of the future is engulfed in ambiguity and uncertainty at this historic juncture which we watch with apprehension and with hope and expectation, for it is our aspiration that man will finally achieve on this planet what he failed to achieve during the cold-war era. It behooves us to watch out for developments and be prepared for them in a manner conducive to the creation of a climate in which the rights of States, both small and large, are safeguarded, their security strengthened and a role ensured for each and every one of them in determining the future course of humanity. Therefore, we should all endeavour to come to grips with the world in this new stage and identify the role each of us should play in the formulation of that world's features and the laying of its foundations. Without such a collective partnership on the part of all members of the international community, the world will continue to lack equilibrium and stability and remain vulnerable to upheavals and setbacks that could undermine the very foundations of the future.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

In the context of those international changes, the United Nations has been able to regain some of its vitality and effectiveness in the international arena over the past few years. It has exerted commendable efforts to end the Iraq/Iran war, bring about the liberation of Kuwait, solve the problem of Afghanistan and bring about the independence of Namibia. Its efforts continue in connection with the questions of Western Sahara, Cyprus, Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Somalia.

The future role of the United Nations should be one that rises to the level of contemporary international challenges so that the Organization may be able to influence the course of international politics and deal with transformations that involve interaction of regional and international factors and controversies. Consequently, it is our view that the role of the United Nations should evolve to embrace the following three major tasks:

First, the creation of an advanced mechanism that would enable the United Nations to carry out the tasks of achieving international peace and security in a manner that would be compatible with transformations in the international arena;

Secondly, the creation of a modus operandi for cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful settlement of international disputes and respect for States' sovereignty and territorial integrity;

Thirdly, adequate development of the role of the United Nations in dealing with world problems that constitute a common concern for the international community as a whole and are sources of anxiety to people throughout the world, such as the problems of development, the environment, refugees, famine, poverty and a host of other international questions.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

The question of world peace and security with its economic and social roots has given rise to a new multifaceted vision of international security. Undoubtedly, the overlapping and intertwining of such issues require serious action on our part to coordinate policies and develop programmes for United Nations organs so that they may be able to meet changing world needs.

In response to the recommendation by the Security Council in its meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government, held on 31 January 1992, the Secretary-General of the United Nations presented his report "An Agenda for Peace". It contains important recommendations and ideas that aim at developing the international Organization's political performance through preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping. The concept of preventive diplomacy is a new strategy based on good forecasting and early intervention by the United Nations to prevent the eruption of conflicts and to prevent the escalation to the level of hostilities of existing conflicts.

In this context, we should like to commend the role played by United Nations peace-keeping operations, a role that has proved to be effective in containing conflicts, defusing tensions and maintaining peace in various regions of the world. Since 1987, 13 peace-keeping operations have been undertaken. It is incumbent upon the international community, especially now, to bolster and enhance the United Nations financial and operational capability in this field so that it may be able to maintain its leadership in peace-keeping, bearing in mind that the cooperation of States Members of the United Nations is the key factor that would enable those forces to achieve their objectives and the only guarantee that they will be able to do so.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

Peacemaking, peace-keeping, and preventive diplomacy are undoubtedly interrelated and mutually complementary. We believe that the concept of post-conflict peace-building introduced by the Secretary-General, together with the preceding concepts, form an important stanchion of the Organization's future role in the area of promoting peaceful solutions and preventing the recurrence of conflicts. In this context, the United Nations can cooperate with and benefit from the potential and abilities of regional organizations and arrangements in the peaceful resolution of disputes among Member States, bearing in mind that most of the disputes that threaten international peace and security are of a regional nature.

The role of regional organizations in peace-keeping is consonant with the objectives of the United Nations Charter. It is also called for by current international developments. And yet, for four decades now, the United Nations has not been able to benefit from the capabilities of regional organizations because of the cold war. That cooperation is of singular importance. Its importance is highlighted now by the aggravation of discord in parts of Eastern Europe and other parts of the world under the influence of ethnic sentiments, territorial claims and border disputes. It is in this area that the United Nations, in cooperation with the appropriate regional organizations, could use the tool of preventive diplomacy to prevent the eruption of tragic ethnic conflicts, futile border hostilities, the occupation by force of other peoples' territories, or the changing of existing boundaries.

In concert with the principles and objectives which we seek to consolidate within the framework of the United Nations, our responsibility lies in maintaining the momentum generated by the new international climate of respect for international legality with a view to achieving stability in

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

sensitive regional situations, foremost among which is that in the Gulf area. In this respect, the State of Bahrain reiterates its demand that United Nations resolutions relating to the situation between Iraq and Kuwait be complied with.

The State of Bahrain has been following with deep concern the recent unfortunate developments in the Gulf area as a result of the actions by the Islamic Republic of Iran on the island of Abu Mousa. While we emphasize the sovereignty and territorial rights of the United Arab Emirates, our adherence to the good-neighbourliness principle and our desire to avoid any further tensions in the area, we call upon the Islamic Republic of Iran to abide by the memorandum of understanding it has signed with the United Arab Emirates.

For the past several years, international relations have undergone enormous transformations in the political and economic fields that herald a pattern of new economic cooperation among countries. There are expectations that with the end of confrontation between the two super-Powers, the world will enter an era of fruitful cooperation between States. Yet an escalation of the confrontation in the economic arena, a widening of the gap between the North and South, and the prevalence of extreme poverty in a number of developing countries continue to endanger world security and stability.

Peace and development are the most important foundations of our civilization at present. It is therefore incumbent upon the United Nations, which has had about half a century of experience in international organization, to undertake side by side with the task of peace-keeping, the task of promoting development in the developing countries. The United Nations is qualified to be the forum for the elaboration of international development strategies and the provision of appropriate political impetus for a number of

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

such interrelated economic issues as the problems of debt, the transfer of technology, trade, finance, commodities, and the environment. It is thus essential to reactivate the role of the United Nations in the field of economic development for the peoples of the world. Although the United Nations designated the 1970s and the 1980s as the second and third Decades for development, it has failed to achieve the objectives thereof due to lack of funds to finance the plan.

If rich industrial countries are to fulfil their global responsibilities, they ought to respond to the needs of developing countries in terms of development assistance so that the cold war between the East and West may not be replaced by another cold war between the North and South or, as the Secretary-General put it, so as not to erect an iron curtain between the North and South similar to the one that used to exist between the East and West.

In the light of this situation, the State of Bahrain, as a member of the Economic and Social Council, a major organ of the United Nations, believes that the Council's role should be reinvigorated if it is to fulfil its mandate as provided for in Article 65 of the Charter, and if it is to furnish the Security Council with comprehensive reports on the economic situations in the world's different countries. It is clear that if such situations were left to fester and deteriorate, they may indirectly threaten international peace and security.

A number of important international conferences have been held this year, most significant of which were the Eighth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Colombia, and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development which was held in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil and which culminated in the issuance of the Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, and other

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

international agreements relating to environment and development. The Rio Declaration, with its 27 principles, recognizes the integral interrelated character of the Earth and links sustainable development to environmental protection. Agenda 21 reflects a global consensus on cooperation in the areas of environment and development and aims at addressing urgent problems in that respect and at equipping the world with the means to rise to the challenges of the next century.

The fact that these two Conference were held in relatively quick succession demonstrates the enormous capability of the United Nations to conduct political dialogue in the areas of development and international economic cooperation. In order for the United Nations role to be strengthened in that respect, Member States should provide the Organization with the wherewithal to enable it fully to perform its mandated tasks. For wherewithal, read: the political will.

In the midst of international transformations, many peoples look forward to a secure future for themselves and for their future generations. I must voice here the hope of my delegation that peace may prevail in the Middle East. We welcome the signs that may lead to a just settlement of the question of Palestine in particular and of the Middle East conflict in general. The rounds of talks, which started in Madrid late in October 1991, have vividly demonstrated the earnest nature of Arab positions and the commitment of Arab negotiators to achieving a comprehensive and just peace in the Middle East on the basis of the land-for-peace formula in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other relevant United Nations resolutions.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

It is imperative to intensify international efforts to induce Israel to forswear its policies of expansion and settlement-building in the occupied Arab territories, to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, to withdraw from the Syrian Golan Heights, to withdraw from southern Lebanon in accordance with Security Council resolution 425 (1978), and to respond to all constructive disarmament proposals which, if implemented, could bring about parity in military capabilities qualitatively and quantitatively and ensure security through equal commitments applicable to all Middle East States, including Israel.

In this connection, I would like to reiterate our support for freeing the Middle East region from all weapons of mass destruction, and reaffirm our readiness to deal with the proposed convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons, to the extent that other States in the region are willing to respond to international demands by acceding to that convention, to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to the international system of safeguards and inspections on the basis of equity and equality, in the interests of the security of all States of the region without discrimination.

The human traqedy that has befallen the Somali people, and the degradation of their human dignity, call for immediate mobilization of the concerted efforts of the international community to put an end to that tragedy. Medical assistance and food supplies should be provided urgently to save the Somali people from their painful plight. We welcome the United Nations efforts in Somalia, and are of the opinion that an appropriate political mechanism should be created to put an end to the bloodshed, to effect national reconciliation, to eliminate the causes of strife between the warring factions and to help achieve security and stability in Somalia.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

We also wish to express our deep concern over the tragic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose people are the targets of mass annihilation and human-rights violations. At a time when the world looks forward to the emergence of a new world order in which peace and security would prevail, we believe the United Nations is duty-bound to act resolutely to put an end to this tragic situation and to preserve the integrity of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a State Member of the United Nations.

South Africa, which is going through a delicate phase of its history, requires special attention on the part of the international community. Despite the positive reforms initiated last year by the Pretoria Government with a view to drawing up a new constitution for South Africa, it is urgent that apartheid be completely eradicated by means of constitutional reforms guaranteeing the participation of the majority of the people of South Africa in building a non-racial State. In that connection, we support United Nations efforts to put an end to violence and to help create favourable conditions for negotiations on transforming South Africa into a non-racial, unitary State.

The Cyprus problem has eluded solution for a long time. However, there have been signs recently that may lead to a solution. We welcome the new positive movements as well as the Secretary-General's efforts in that direction.

The peoples of the world look forward with full confidence to a new world in which security and prosperity prevail. Yet, despite our hopes for the future, threats to the human race and the environment abound. Unless we all work to overcome those threats and to address their causes, we will be opening a Pandora's box, releasing all its evils while leaving hope locked inside.

(Mr. Al-Khalifa, Bahrain)

The success of the United Nations in dealing with the new challenges will depend on its ability to build confidence among nations and, with the help of a broad creative vision, to mobilize efforts, resources and knowledge with a view to bringing them to bear on the transformation of world society into a society in which real security, peace, tranquility and equality may prevail.

If we may liken the desired world order to a ship, then peace, security and economic development are the canvas of which its sails are made; international legality is its pennant; and only through stability can it sail to safety. It behoves us to work together in weaving the yarn to make the canvas of the sails, and to steer our ship toward a secure future for all our peoples.

Mr. KIM (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) (spoke in Korean; English text furnished by the delegation): On behalf of the delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, I would like to congratulate you, Mr. Ganev, on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session. It is my conviction that under your able leadership this session will come to a fruitful conclusion.

I would like also to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the efforts made over the past year by His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali in carrying out his heavy responsibilities as Secretary-General, to ensure world peace and security and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in line with changes in the international situation.

The end of the cold war that had persisted ever since the end of the Second World War brought with it great changes in the recent international situation. In this vortex of change in the international situation, the phase of détente is beginning in North-East Asia.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

Recent events on the Korean peninsula are attracting world attention. Dialogue between the north and the south on many levels is under way to end the distrust and confrontation resulting from prolonged national division. In particular, the north-south high-level talks have resulted in the adoption of the Agreement on Reconciliation, Non-Aggression, Cooperation and Exchanges. This is a great victory in the nationwide struggle to bring about the three principles of national reunification: independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. It is a new, historic milestone on the road to national reunification. The north-south Agreement and the north-south Joint Statement of 4 July constitute a programme for national reunification that reflects the aspirations of the Korean nation to reunification and the current trends towards peace.

In the north-south Agreement, the north and the south make it clear that relations betveen the two sides are not inter-State relations but rather special relations formed provisionally in the process of moving towards reunification. In the Agreement, the north and the south also pledge to recognize and respect each other's systems and to refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

This Agreement shows that both the north and the south want a single unified State, not "two States", and look to achieve reunification along the lines of confederation. Reunification through confederation based on one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments has become a realistic goal. It is an issue which can no longer be avoided both in view of the present trend of the international situation which is moving towards rapprochement, détente and the end of confrontation and in the light of the specific conditions on the Korean peninsula where two different ideas and systems exist.

The highlight of our proposal for reunification through confederation is that the north and south form a unified national Government to be represented by the north and the south on an equal basis under which the north and the south exercise regional autonomy with equal rights and power. It will be the most peaceful and ideal method of reunification. It will form a single State by uniting the two autonomous governments, maintaining the two systems intact. And it will be based on the principle of coexistence with neither side conquering or overpowering or being conquered or being overpowered.

This proposal for confederation, acceptable to both sides during dialogue, is now turning from possibility to feasibility. The recent 8th North-South High Level Talks in Pyongyang have led to the functioning of joint committees for the implementation of the Agreement in different areas such as political, military, economic, social and cultural.

It is true that the north-south dialogue for implementing the Agreement is confronted with a series of obstacles and difficulties because the feelings of distrust and confrontation conceived during the long period of the division still remain.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

However, we are optimistic about the prospect of north-south dialogue and reunification. Blood is thicker than water. The homogeneous nationhood of the Korean people surpasses the differences of the systems and ideas of the north and south. Our people, with their strong sense of national independence, have good traditions and experiences of having achieved unity for the common cause of the nation, transcending the differences of ideas, political views and religious beliefs.

The Government of our Republic will exert all its efforts to follow through the already-begun reunification process in order to reach the final point of reunification by reviving such national traditions. We will also do our best to resolve the nuclear issue of the Korean peninsula at an early date in the interest of peace and reunification of Korea, as agreed upon by the north and the south in the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

The nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula and the nuclear suspicion that remains unresolved stem from the deployment of United States nuclear weapons in south Korea. Therefore, fundamental to resolving the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula is the withdrawal of United States nuclear weapons from South Korea and the removal of the serious apprehension of our nation which has been under a nuclear threat during the last 30 years.

To this end, it is urgent to adopt an agreement and regulations of inspection under the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and to inspect the United States nuclear weapons and bases in south Korea. The North-South Joint Nuclear Control Committee, although it has met several times, has not yet adopted the regulations of inspection to verify the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula nor has it carried out any inspection

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

of the United States nuclear weapons and bases in south Korea. This is due to the fact that the south Korean authorities are not in a position to exercise their sovereign right regarding the question of United States nuclear weapons and bases.

This situation, we believe, has prevented the North-South Joint Nuclear Control Committee from arriving at an agreement to include the United States nuclear weapons and bases in the scope of the parameters for inspection. Quite recently, it was revealed that United States nuclear weapons have been stockpiled in the secret nuclear storage in south Korea and a naval base in Jinhae, south Korea, also serves as a United States nuclear submarine base. This causes a great number of people to have suspicion about the sincerity of the announcement of the non-existence of United States nuclear weapons in south Korea. It is most deplorable that the south Korean authorities do not have a say on the presence of nuclear weapons from other countries which are now on their own soil nor can they verify the withdrawal of these nuclear weapons.

As far as we are concerned, we have declared time and time again that we have no nuclear weapons, nor any intention or capacity to make them. We have no need to produce them. It is our firm will, in line with our invariable anti-nuclear peace policy, to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes and not to develop nuclear weapons.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

The honesty of the peaceful nuclear policy of the Government of our Republic and the will for denuclearization have already been proved by several ad hoc inspections of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The so-called suspicion of our "nuclear development" is fading away. We do what we say and we never say empty words.

If the south Korean authorities are really concerned about the "future" of the Korean peninsula and interested in realizing its denuclearization, they should take an independent stand free from outside forces and respond as soon as possible to adopting the regulations of inspection, so that the overall inspection of United States nuclear weapons and bases could be carried out as agreed upon by the north and the south.

The reunification of the Korean peninsula presupposes the eradication of the legacy of the cold war and the termination of foreign interference. The Korean question has been closely related to international relations historically. The division of Korea was brought about not by the internal contradictions of our nation but was imposed on it against its will to serve only the interests of foreign forces.

It is foreign forces that impede the ongoing north-south talks. Consequently, the key issue in realizing the reunification of the Korean peninsula today is to end foreign interference in the Korean question. The presence of United States troops in south Korea is clear evidence of interference by a foreign force impeding the solution to the Korean question.

During the cold-war era the presence of foreign armed forces in other countries was "justified" under the pretext of preserving the so-called balance of forces. However, this argument no longer holds today since the cold war ended and power politics have become meaningless.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

There is no justification whatsoever for the continued presence of United States forces in south Korea. On the Korean peninsula, the north and the south have pledged themselves to non-aggression through the Agreement and have formed the joint military commission to deal with military affairs.

Nevertheless, the United States is still pursuing a policy of "power politics" based on the cold-war way of thinking. The United States continues to "justify" the stationing of its armed forces in south Korea with the new argument that a "power vacuum" could be created.

It is contradictory to claim, according to one's interest, that on some occasions peace has come to the world and on other occasions to divide the world into friends and enemies, talking about a "power vacuum". The United States must drop its policy of power towards the Korean peninsula and withdraw its troops from south Korea, thereby fulfilling its responsibility in helping to achieve peace and the reunification of Korea.

In today's world - which stands at the crossroads of independence or domination, peace or war, cooperation or division - the peace, security and reunification of the Korean peninsula become one of the most urgent questions, the solution of which brooks no further delay. The problem of Korea's reunification is a touchstone. Whether or not it is solved will clarify whether international society is entering a stage of independent, peaceful and democratic development or still remains in the era of domination and subjugation, conflict and confrontation.

It is our hope that Korea's reunification will be realized through confederation on the basis of the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity which the north and south have already

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

announced with full commitment, thus showing one part of the genuine development of international society.

Humankind is now at a historical turning-point for opposing domination and subjugation and building a new, free and peaceful world. Such aspirations of humankind, however, are still being gravely challenged by the old forces that pursue power politics. Despite the collapse of the cold-war structure characterized by confrontation between the super-Powers, there are new, open attempts to capitalize on this situation in order to establish world domination.

If such attempts are allowed to go unchecked, the world will change from the cold-war structure of a bipolar system to the hegemonistic structure of a unipolar system and the democratic development of international society will suffer yet another setback.

Therefore, today's era can brook no further delay in establishing a new, just international order to replace the old international order under which a few countries go unchallenged and freely dominate the destiny of humankind. There are big and small countries in the world, but there cannot be senior or junior countries; there are developed and less developed nations, but there cannot be dominating nations and nations destined to be dominated.

All countries and nations are entitled to independent and equal rights as equal members of international society, regardless of the size of their territories or level of development. Neither privileges nor arbitrariness should be tolerated in international relations, and friendship and cooperation among countries should be developed positively on the principle of mutual respect, non-interference, equality and mutual benefit.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

It is the expectation of the people of the world that the United Nations, under the changed situation today, will play a pivotal role in securing peace and achieving the common prosperity of mankind by fulfilling its mission as the international organization to safeguard world peace and justice.

At the recent tenth summit conference of non-aligned countries, the Heads of State and Government were unanimous in their emphasis on the necessity of strengthening the role of the United Nations in safeguarding world peace and security and in establishing an equitable international order.

The United Nations should pay careful attention to bringing about disarmament and the dismantling of weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear weapons, in keeping with the present situation in which the cold war has come to an end. Mankind can neither get rid of the danger of nuclear war, nor expect true peace, so long as the arms race continues unbridled and nuclear weapons remain. We hold that a comprehensive treaty banning nuclear tests should be concluded as soon as possible. Testing and production of nuclear weapons should be stopped, and nuclear weapons should be abolished once and for all.

The prevention of the emergence of any new nuclear Power is another important issue in settling the nuclear problem. In this connection, we could not but express our concern that, despite world condemnation, Japan is storing more nuclear fuel than it needs, and is even carrying out an adventurous plan involving the marine transportation of plutonium.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will in the future, as in the past, make positive efforts to abolish nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction on the globe.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

The United Nations should pay particular attention to the economic issue, one of the important problems in establishing a new international order at present, and endeavour to eliminate the ever-widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. People in many developing countries are enduring great suffering from famine and disease. Anyone who feels responsibility for the survival and future of mankind cannot turn away from such tragedies occurring in the world.

It is the most urgent common task of mankind at present to spare the peoples of the developing countries the calamities of famine and disease. The developed countries should feel due responsibility for the economic poverty of the developing countries, and should refrain from hindering the economic development of the developing countries. In this regard, the Government of our Republic holds that dialogue between the developed and the developing countries should be resumed at the earliest possible date, the present unequal international economic relations should be restructured, and constructive measures should be taken for the establishment of a new equitable international economic order.

Along with this, the developing countries should take practical measures to achieve South-South cooperation, starting with the spheres of food, agriculture and public health, which will be indispensable in eradicating famine and disease.

The United Nations should also continue to concentrate on the peaceful solution of regional disputes and the elimination of all kinds of interference in internal affairs and unjust pressure. Today, when the confrontational structure between the super-Powers has collapsed and new, many-sided international relations are emerging, ethnic, national and racial

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

contradictions which have long been obscured behind the cold war are rapidly surfacing with increased intensity, thus triggering new regional conflicts. These constitute elements of instability, which will complicate regional situations and cause serious damage to world peace and security.

Urgent measures should be taken to settle the problems of regional disputes peacefully through dialogue, negotiations and political coordination. All countries and nations are entitled to decide freely on their own political and economic systems and development on the basis of respect for the principles of national sovereignty, the right to self-determination, and non-interference in internal affairs. We should not allow any attempts to infringe upon the sovereignty of other countries, to interfere in their internal affairs and to impose unfair blockades and pressure. Human rights should no longer be used as leverage for political pressure against and interference in the developing countries.

We take this opportunity to extend our unqualified support for and solidarity with the struggle of the peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the rest of the world to safeguard national independence and sovereignty and achieve independent national development, particularly the struggle of the Cambodian people under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to restore peace and national unity and the status of a sovereign State; the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples for a fair solution to the Middle East question, centred on the Palestinian question; the struggle of the South African people to end the policy of apartheid and attain their country's democratic development; and the struggle of the Cuban people to defend their sovereignty against all kinds of foreign pressure and interference.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

The Government of our Republic recognizes that the United Nations should democratize itself as soon as possible in order to fulfil its responsibilities and roles in establishing a new world order. Before anything else is done, the United Nations should be restructured and reformed to develop international relations on a new democratic basis.

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

The restructuring of the United Nations is indispensable, inasmuch as it will enable the world body to perform efficiently its main mission as an international organization safeguarding world peace and justice by dynamically coping with a changed reality and new challenges.

To this end, the United Nations should be democratized on the principle of ensuring independence, equality and justice for all Member States and never tolerating privileges within the United Nations. Independence, equality and justice are, indeed, strong binding forces that have enabled more than 100 countries on this planet to join in one community, the United Nations, irrespective of differences in ideologies and systems and the gap between the rich and the poor.

In order to realize the democratization of the United Nations and to ensure its impartiality in line with the present changing international situation, the privileged positions of a few countries should no longer be permitted in the United Nations. The relations between the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General should be reorganized with a view to strengthening the United Nations. In particular, the Security Council should not infringe the supreme authority of the General Assembly.

In this regard, we believe that special attention should be paid to the problem of the composition of the Security Council. However, we consider that a country that still fails to feel any responsibility for aggression and war crimes committed during the Second World War is not qualified to become a permanent member of the Security Council, even if the number of the Council's permanent members is to be increased.

One of the most important problems in democratizing the United Nations is to eliminate the leftover inequities of the cold war. The United Nations

(Mr. Kim, Democratic People's Republic of Korea)

Command, a legacy of the cold-war era, still remains on the Korean peninsula. It is indeed astonishing and surprising that these "United Nations forces" - which are not under the command of the United Nations and over which the United Nations cannot exercise any authority - still exist in this world.

The United Nations should no longer deeply disappoint Member States with the sense that its authority is applied selectively, depending on which State is involved. The United Nations should live up to the expectations of Member States in terms of its impartial and sincere image by eradicating all unjust and contradictory remnants of the cold war.

Our delegation attaches great importance to this forty-seventh session of the General Assembly and will exert every effort to ensure its success. What is important in ensuring world peace and security and in strengthening international cooperation is to further enhance the responsibility and role of States Members of the United Nations.

The Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will actively contribute to building a prosperous, peaceful and free new world by faithfully fulfilling its obligations as a State Member of the United Nations at this historic turning-point in the achievement of a durable peace and security in the world.

Mr. KHALIKNAZARZODA (Tajikistan) (spoke in Farsi; English text furnished by the delegation): As the first representative of the Independent Republic of Tajikistan, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the Assembly and to express my Government's confidence in your guidance of the deliberations of the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session to a successful conclusion.

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

I should also like to convey the felicitations of my Government to Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, under whose able leadership we are confident the United Nations will stand up to the new challenges in the years to come.

The breakup of the Soviet Union more than a year ago gave birth to new independent States, which are making their mark on the world map. Although some of these States obtained their independence fairly easily, most of them are experiencing a great deal of difficulty in forming new States.

The formation of a new Tajikistan is currently at a difficult and sensitive stage, which could be cause for concern. Tajikistan, like some other former Soviet States, is in the midst of an economic crisis. Since the reasons for this crisis are quite obvious, I should like to point out several other factors that exacerbate the severity of our situation.

First, as an agricultural country, we were recently devastated by heavy rains and floods, which ruined our crops. Our economic losses are estimated at more than 10 billion roubles. In this context, allow me, on behalf of the people and Government of Tajikistan, to extend our appreciation to the people and Governments of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and the United States of America for their assistance. However, I must add that this relief assistance has fallen far short of our proportionately large needs. I therefore call upon all international humanitarian organizations to send emergency relief assistance and foodstuffs to Tajikistan as soon as possible.

Secondly, our geographical location puts us at a disadvantage in terms of transportation and accessibility. As far as transportation is concerned, up until the past few weeks there was even a threat of a blockade of the Republic.

Lastly, Tajikistan has been experiencing some political unrest during the course of the past year.

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

Despite these problems, since its independence Tajikistan has been recognized by 115 countries; established diplomatic relations with 37 countries and opened the doors of the embassies of seven countries in our capital, Dushanbe; and has become a member of such great world organizations as the United Nations, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Economic Cooperation Organization. I humbly submit that this is an ongoing process.

At this point, I should like to outline the foreign policy of the Republic of Tajikistan. As members know, from the very first days of its independence Tajikistan chose democracy as a system for its new development; despite economic and social difficulties, and even the death of its own sons, it has remained and will remain firm in its choice. It is no secret that the tension in our country was caused mainly by the former Government's attempts to breach certain regulations concerning freedom of the media and human rights. But these attempts failed and we will not allow them to surface again. At present, there is no power in Tajikistan that can stop the movement of democracy, but we need the support of the world community to ensure that democracy prevails in our Republic.

Unfortunately, owing to the sensitivity of the situation, we cannot disclose information concerning certain events in our country. We believe that such information, if known, could only intensify the problem. But we wish the world community to know that we have no objection to the kind of freedom of the media that conveys true facts from various points of view and within the framework of integrity and professional ethics. We have had no case in which a journalist has been refused entry into Tajikistan or in which we have interfered with his or her activities.

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

Nevertheless, we are often unhappy with the activity of the media from some countries that distort the facts and actual events. For instance, for a year certain media sources have been claiming that Tajikistan is building a fundamental Islamic State. They support this claim by alleging that Tajikistan is going to adopt an Islamic ideology in the place of communism; that Tajikistan is the only Islamic republic of the former Soviet Union where a political Islamic party exists legally and has grown into a unique political force; and that Tajikistan's foreign policy extends preferential treatments to Islamic countries. I declare before the General Assembly that none of these allegations is accurate and that we reject them all.

The communist system and the communist ideology failed, and their influence is insignificant now. To believe that the people of Tajikistan would wish to replace communism with an Islamic ideology would be a great mistake. On the basis of freedom of speech and assembly, peoples of different political persuasions - including democratic, nationalist and Islamic groups - are legally active, in unison, in today's Tajikistan. This is the first sign of the democratization process in Tajikistan. We call upon the intemational community to assist us in our process of democratization. A relapse into communist dictatorship is impossible in our country. The people of Tajikistan are against any totalitarian regime. There is no foundation in Tajikistan for establishing such a totalitarian government. However, we are extremely concerned that the critical state of our economy can lead our country off its chosen course. Therefore, I appeal to the representatives of the world community to evaluate the situation in Tajikistan and to support the new democracy.

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

As I have already indicated, all political parties in Tajikistan function within the law. Any conclusion to the contrary would be ill-founded and unrealistic.

On the question of friendly relations between Tajikistan and the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic State of Afghanistan, I should say that for us these are not merely two neighbouring Muslim countries. Tajikistan, Iran, and Afghanistan recall for one another the historic memory of a single nation. All of us constitute a single cultural, ethnic and linguistic unit. We rejoice in our independence, which allows us to establish friendly and good-neighbourly relations with our brothers and sisters in Iran and Afghanistan. We are proud of our heritage, our history and our culture, and hope that the significance of these factors in our lives will never diminish. Once one has strayed from one's origins, one must seek a state of reunion.

I also want to emphasize that the goal of our foreign policy is to create a democratic society that will live in peace with its neighbours. This is the ultimate objective we pursue in our internal and foreign policies. Our foreign policy is, in fact, designed to secure this noble goal. The underlying objective of our foreign policy is to create a positive environment for Tajikistan in the international community. In this process, we will endeavour to adopt the type of measures and policies that benefit the people of Tajikistan while at the same time not constituting a threat or disservice to the interests of other nations. We support the guidelines established and recognized by the world community with respect to the norms of international relations, which stand against violations of human rights, oppression and racism. We support the peaceful settlement of all regional and international conflicts.

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

Tajikistan supports the development of large-scale relations with all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). We fully recognize and respect the inviolability of existing borders between the members of the Commonwealth of Independence States. We protect the human and cultural rights of all people living in the territory of our Republic and wish and hope that the same conditions hold true for the Tajiks living in other States of the CIS. At the same time, we recognize that political borders in the Central Asian republics are not based on ethnic origin and that this reality demands the exercise of much responsibility on all sides.

Tajikistan's foreign policy is based on peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourly relations and non-interference in other countries' internal affairs. Hence, we wish to establish political, economic and cultural relations with our contiguous and non-contiguous neighbouring countries, such as China, India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

Tajikistan is situated in a region where Islamic culture and spirituality are deeply rooted. We therefore establish relations with countries and Islamic organizations according to our spiritual and cultural requirements. Islam is a holy and divine religion and, in our view, certain Western media have created an inaccurate picture of it.

For more than a century we lived under the Russian Tsars and later we lived under the Soviet Union. At this period of our history we are not making any judgement, positive or negative. What is past is past. Through our ties with Russia and Russian intellectuals, we learned and became familiar with European civilization. Today we are able to establish our own ties with Europe and come even closer to its civilization. We believe that the peoples of Western Europe will show us their support and assist the Tajik people in

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

their noble struggle. We feel that our tremendous hydro-power, agriculture and mining industry offers great potential for cooperation with European countries.

As a newly established democracy, Tajikistan greatly values friendly relations with all States in Europe, the Americas, Africa, the Near and Far East and South-East Asia on the basis of mutual respect. We invite the representatives of all countries in the world to visit Tajikistan and to witness our open-door policy for friendly relations and mutual cooperation.

(Mr. Khaliknazarzoda, Tajikistan)

We wish to assure the world community that the leadership in Tajikistan is doing its utmost to stop gun-smuggling of all kinds on its southem borders and to prevent its recurrence. The Government has devised a scheme for conciliation and for the disarming of parties to the conflict. Conditions in our territory are gradually normalizing. In this context, progress has been achieved; the conflict - limited in any case to the central portion of one of the provinces - has de-escalated and a cease-fire has been agreed upon and announced. Ninety per cent of our territory is in a peaceful state. This is not a temporary calm, but the beginning of continued peace and durable stability throughout Tajikistan. We want to assure the world that we have no intention of becoming one of the globe's hot spots.

I invite representatives to visit Tajikistan, one of the oldest human civilizations in the world, to begin a new era of friendship and cooperation. Our goal is to become an economically developed country with friendly trade relations with our neighbours and with other countries in the world community.

Tajikistan respects and fully observes the United Nation Charter and the rule of international law. We support the constructive programmes designed by the United Nations for the settlement of conflicts and problems throughout the world.

We wish to state that Tajikistan has designated a Permanent Representative to the United Nations and that he has already begun to fulfil his duties. We believe that this will contribute to a strengthening of our ties with the United Nations and the rest of the world.

Mr. LUNA (Peru) (interpretation from Spanish): Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election, which symbolizes the spriit of renewal of the present period in international relations. Many of our countries aspire to emulate your country's efforts to overcome obstacles and spread politial and economic freedom and become a productive part of the world system.

The Government of Peru shares those same objectives, and is seeking to restore the legitimacy and trustworthiness that have been lacking in the past. To that end, we are seeking to modernize, to consolidate democracy and economic competitiveness and, above all, to base our actions on the interests of the majority. In a word, we are attempting to engage in a true process of redefinition and national reconstruction.

The majority of the Members of the United Nations face similar problems, but nothing can be done if the Organization cannot begin to function as a genuinely multilateral association of sovereign nations with equal rights and duties as provided for in the Charter. To that end we must reform the United Nations and make it more effective, with the same perseverence and determination our Governments have shown in their national reconstruction efforts.

Democratization through decision-making by consensus; administrative reform; a balance among the various bodies of the Organization; and improved cooperation for development: these are among the crucial factors for the future of the United Nations and for its prestige and authority. The developing countries have the ongoing task of ensuring respect for the principles of the Charter. On the basis of those same principles, the major Powers must redefine their real national priorities. It would then be

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

possible to decide on a mandate agreeable to both sides that would orient the rebirth of the United Nations and prevent erratic extremism.

The collapse of communism did not mean the automatic disappearance of the world's problems, but it has given the world community its first opportunity in 50 years to reorient international relations towards peace and well-being. We face an unprecedented, formidable effort that can now begin in proptious circumstances. The bases of this common effort are: development; the solution of disputes by diplomatic means; respect for law; and the application of fundamental economic and political freedoms. The United Nations system is the only mechanism creative enough to put this into effect. Only though multilateral cooperation will it be possible to conflate collective action and respect for national sovereignty without manoeuvring to preserve or increase international influence - which would be even worse in a world free of ideological motivations or the imperatives of the cold war.

For our countries as a group, it is vitally important to resume the North-South dialogue on a constructive and realistic basis. None of the global problems threatening the survival of mankind can be dealt with adequately without the active participation of the developing countries. The economic and social aspects of multilateral policy are in the interests of all Member States. United Nations action in this realm has been notoriously inadequate.

With the ideological confrontation of the post-War period overcome, the most urgent problem today is the world recession and the consequent risk of regional isolationism. Undue concern for political and security matters or a narrow view of world problems can cloak conservative impulses and new protectionist tendencies, which would pose the threat of undue interference.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

The threat of this new world division can be dispelled only if we all agree that the various aspects of North-South relations together constitute the most urgent, critical factor of international security.

None the less, Peru recognizes the importance and urgency of maintaining peace and preventing conflicts. We are prepared to expand our traditional participation in peace-keeping operations. The Secretary-General's Agenda for Peace sets out many innovative ideas for the future of United Nations action in this sphere, and we firmly support them.

The situation of Peru exemplifies the unyielding relationship among national, regional and world bodies. In our case, this relationship, frequently addressed by the theoreticians of international relations, becomes something of a paradigm, because my country has worked to promote its national interests, respect for national sovereignty and multilateral action. In other words, Peru seeks to reconcile a political programme dealing both with the viability of its internal plans and with foreign affairs through a consistent economic and financial programme. At this point in international relations, we cannot imagine that a State like Peru can exist without coherence among those three factors. Without this, we would be under constant threat from fragmentation of soverignty - which has already done damage in other parts of the world - or from harsh limitations of sovereignty resulting from the interventionist nature of the new global challenges and the consequences of hasty multilateralism.

We view regional action as relevant, because we consider that the future of the multilateral system is based on the development of trustworthy regional organizations. These must play a growing role in the promotion of democracy, in fostering development, in overcoming conflicts, in supplying humanitarian assistance and in maintaining peace.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

In our region, Peru is working to ensure that the Organization of American States will play its new role and go beyond the rituals of rhetoric and ostracism. We cannot continue to hold back a hemispheric organization whose work must be based on solidarity and must be effective to address the fundamental issues that threaten democracy and development.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

The democratization of international relations can be achieved in a number of ways. Peru believes that one of the most effective of these is the strengthening of regional organizations, which are ideal forums for dealing with any substantive issue. All the situations that now call for speedy and effective action are the legacy of the dynamics of the cold war. Today we need imaginative solutions that combine the global vision of the United Nations with contributions by regional bodies. This is no easy task, because both approaches require the political will of Member States; but given the uncertainty of international relations, that will must consistently be made manifest in all bodies where States come together, as is obviously the case with the wide range of neighbourly relations we enjoy within our Organization.

The Government of Peru shares the desire of the Government of Ecuador, expressed by the President of that country, Mr. Duran Ballen, in his statement last Friday. He spoke about the need to promote joint development between the two countries. In this context, and bearing in mind the fact that Peru gives priority to the strengthening of its fraternal bonds with Ecuador, President Alberto Fujimori in November 1991 put forward a proposal for friendship, cooperation and integration. This proposal was aimed at reorienting bilateral relations to reflect the desires of our peoples to strengthen good-neighbourly relations and development.

Peru is convinced that the common will for understanding expressed during the State visit by President Fujimori of Ecuador in January 1992, as well as in the interview with President Duran Ballen in Quito last August, when he assumed the presidency of Ecuador, will continue in further meetings between the two Heads of State, making it possible gradually to harmonize our respective positions and to deepen our relations.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

As is well known, the crisis in Peru has reached an extreme because of the actions of terrorist groups and as a result of our dire economic situation. But we must avoid simplistic interpretations which maintain, for example, that ours is an ethnic problem pitting an indigenous population, the descendants of defeated Incas, against a political class descended from the Spanish conquistadors. This interpretation is thought-provoking and linear but inaccurate. Exploitation of man by man is a historic fact which many generations of Peruvians have striven to cancel out. But it is also a struggle to reconcile characteristics of an idiosyncracy rooted in a profound and extensive mixing of races - characteristics that at times may clash but that at others can mesh fraternally throughout the breadth of Peru, fragmented as it is by its topography, and to the depth of the baroque culture of this the oldest nation State of South America.

The cumulative ancestral problems of five centuries have given rise to a social breakdown which may now be called historical. To this unstable legacy are now added new challenges, including a quarter of a century of economic stagnation and internal migration, with its accompanying demographic explosion and mushrooming slums, and culminating during the past decade in narco-terrorism. Quite naturally, this has produced a tacit alienation between the State and society and as a result - rightly or wrongly - people have perceived the State as an obstacle or impediment instead of as a guarantee of meeting the basic needs of society.

In the face of these challenges, an ambitious and difficult programme to put the country's economy and finances on a healthier footing was begun in 1990; it is now on the verge of bringing economic recovery and renewal of the State apparatus. An anti-terrorist strategy culminated a few days ago in the capture of the founder of the terrorist group Shining Path.

(Mr. Luna, Peru)

The conciliation Peru now seeks between its ancestral culture and the modern-day exigencies of competition is not impossible. It can be achieved by modernizing the economy and public institutions and by eliminating insecurity through joint efforts of the State and society against terrorism. What is needed is a representative democracy that is more attentive to the real immediate interests of the people, along with institutions that can guarantee an efficient dialogue between the State and society. This civic progress can be successfully made through a modern parliament, through integrity and efficiency in the administration of justice, and through the constant efforts of the political classes, both new and traditional, in order to surmount the country's problems in light of reality rather than of doctrine.

At this complicated juncture Peru does not stand alone. It has enjoyed the understanding of other countries in the hemisphere and the thoughtful support of countries in other parts of the world. The understanding reached with regard to Peru's problems in the Organization of American States represents a historic landmark in the work of that organization and augurs well for its intelligent and dynamic responses to future challenges.

The decision to respond positively to Peru's request for technical support and to send observers to the elections to be held in November is the expression of a joint effort to interpret, in a definite and transparent manner, the desires of the people and the Government of Peru to elect a constituent congress which will lead to new institutional viability for our democracy.

The Shining Path obsession has not only divided the country but created antagonisms between the State and society, destroying both and creating instead a totalitarian response to the national crisis. The various stages

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of the Shining Path, stripped of anecdote and rhetorical effect, began with the exploitation of a short-lived and fairly confined Andean uprising, followed by coercive recruitment, employing intimidation and violence against peasants. In this context, given the movement's tenuous strength in the rural areas, it launched an assault on the cities, carrying out fierce assassinations of true urban leaders and bombing civil targets.

During recent stages, the Shining Path had already established an unnatural alliance with Peru's most powerful and illegitimate transnational force, drug trafficking. It had filled the growing popular vacuum with its radicalized violence, taking new terrorist forms to extremes and moving from the countryside, where it had never taken root, to the city in a so-called "strategic step" which only the narcissistic cult of its leadership could sustain. This final stage of self-intoxicated obstinacy was the beginning of the end.

Society reacted. From apprehension and despair, we moved silently to indignation and took the offensive, making it possible to create an atmosphere propitious to the recent capture of the founder of this utopian movement that Peru considers to be the antithesis of its nationality. While it would be overly optimistic to say that we are approaching the light at the end of the tunnel, we can indeed perceive the fresh air of a new era of hope.

The Peruvian people have overcome their paralysis and are now taking action against terrorism. Now that its genocidal practices have been uncovered and the Shining Path is being stymied by the renewed thrust of democracy in Peru, the efforts of the hemisphere must lead to international cooperation. In essence what we are trying to do is to promote the most effective integration of Peru into the world economy; at the same time, we

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must contribute to the country's internal security and cooperate in the dismantling of external agents who are still promoting terrorism in this nation. Here, in a word, lies the solidarity demanded by Peru and which the Charter requires of us, the United Nations.

The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.